

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 101017 TOSEC 040155

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN NEW YORK 01523 SENT ACTION SECSTATE
INFO BONN, DAR ES SALAAM, GABORONE, LAGOS, LONDON, LUSAKA,
MAPUTO, OTTAWA, PARIS, PRETORIA, CAPE TOWN 19 APR 78

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 01523

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, SA, WA

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MEETING SAG CONCERN ABOUT
FINAL TROOP WITHDRAWAL

REF: USUN 1487 (NOTAL)

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A MESSAGE GIVEN US TODAY
BY UKUN AND SENT BY THE BRITISH ON BEHALF OF SECRETARIES
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VANCE AND OWEN TO THE FRENCH, CANADIAN AND GERMAN FOREIGN
MINISTERS:

2. WHEN WE SAW BOTHA AT THE WEEKEND HE PUT A NUMBER OF
POINTS TO US ARISING OUT OF OUR NAMIBIA PROPOSALS: THE
SECURITY OF THE POPULATION IF THE NINE "BASES" HAD TO BE
EVACUATED, A GUARANTEE AGAINST EXTERNAL ATTACK, THEIR RIGHT

TO BE CONSULTED OVER THE COMPOSITION OF THE UNTAG, THE CONTINUING COMMITMENT OF THE FIVE TO THE PROPOSALS, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND SO ON. WE GAVE THE OBVIOUS REPLIES TO THESE POINTS AND HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS SPEAKING LARGELY FOR THE RECORD (PERHAPS SO THAT HE COULD TELL HIS COLLEAGUES THAT HE HAD DONE SO). HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT FOR SOUTH AFRICA WALVIS BAY WAS NOT NEGOTIABLE: NOR COULD HE COMMIT HIMSELF TO OPENING NEGOTIATIONS WITH AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA IN THE QUESTION ALTHOUGH HE APPEARED TO ACCEPT THAT IT WAS OUR VIEW THAT SOUTH AFRICA OUGHT TO DO THAT.

3. HE ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE LAST 1,500 SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS ONE WEEK AFTER THE CERTIFICATION OF THE ELECTION RESULTS (ANNEX A, PARA 9). HE SAID THAT THE ABSENCE OF ANY QUALIFICATION OF THIS PROVISION PERMITTING IT TO BE RECONSIDERED SHOULD THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WHICH AFTER ALL WOULD HAVE BEEN ELECTED BY UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, RESOLVE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE SHOULD BE ASKED TO STAY WAS QUITE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY AND TO HIS COLLEAGUES AS IT STOOD. IT WAS CLEAR THAT OF ALL HIS POINTS THIS WAS THE ONE TO WHICH HE ATTACHED REAL IMPORTANCE. WE THINK WE SHALL HAVE TO TRY TO MEET HIS PROBLEM IN SO FAR AS WE CAN AND HAVE CONFIDENTIAL

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SIDERED WITHOUT COMMITMENT WAYS IN WHICH THIS MIGHT BE DONE.

4. FIRST IT SEEMS TO US CLEAR THAT IF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WERE TO ADOPT A RESOLUTION ON THE LINES ENVISAGED, WE SHOULD INDEED HAVE A NEW SITUATION. UNDOUBTEDLY THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD HAVE TO GIVE IT FULL WEIGHT. HOWEVER, IF WE WERE TO SAY THIS SOLELY IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL, WE SHOULD BE SPOT-LIGHTING THAT. WHEN THIS WAS CONSIDERED EARLIER IT WAS ARGUED THAT SWAPO WOULD BE BOUND TO RESIST ANYTHING THAT MIGHT OPEN THE DOOR TO THE POSSIBILITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS REMAINING IN THE TERRITORY AFTER THE ELECTION, AND THE OBJECTION TO MAKING GENERAL STATEMENT WHICH WOULD AVOID SPOT-LIGHTING THIS POINT, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY'S VIEWS WOULD BE GIVEN WEIGHT, WAS THAT SWAPO MIGHT CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OR OF UNTAG. UN INVOLVEMENT, HOWEVER, IS CENTRAL TO THE WHOLE AGREEMENT AND, GIVEN THE DIFFERING VIEWS OF THE PARTIES ON THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE TERRITORY, WHICH WE HAVE AVOIDED RAISING, IT WOULD BE REASONABLE TO EXCLUDE FROM ANY SUCH GENERAL STATEMENT ANY RESOLUTION WHICH CALLED FOR A FUNDAMENTAL

CHANGE IN THE LEGAL POSITION BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. SUCH A STATEMENT - AND WE SHOULD OBVIOUSLY HAVE TO CONSIDER IT CAREFULLY IN THE GROUP OF FIVE IN NEW YORK - MIGHT PERHAPS BE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

(QUOTE) THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS IN PRESENTING THESE PROPOSALS HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO REACH A PRACTICAL SOLUTION WHICH WAS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE VIEWS OF THE PARTIES AS TO THE LEGAL POSITION AND WOULD GIVE EFFECT TO RESOLUTION NO 385. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT ONCE THE CONSTITUENT AS-

SEMBLY, DULY ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, HAS BEEN CONSTITUTED, IT WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS ITS VIEWS BY RESOLUTION OR IN ANY OTHER WAY ON ISSUES RELEVANT TO THE TERRITORY IN ADVANCE OF INDEPENDENCE (UNQUOTE).

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VANT TO THE EXECUTION OF THE PROPOSALS. SUCH VIEWS WOULD BE RESPECTED BY THE PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT, ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS WOULD NOT AUTHORISE ANYTHING TO BE DONE WHICH WOULD PREJUDICE OR TEND TO PREJUDICE THE POSITIONS OF THE PARTIES WITH RESPECT TO THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE TERRITORY IN ADVANCE OF INDEPENDENCE (UNQUOTE).

5. IF YOU AGREE THAT SOMETHING ON THESE LINES WOULD BE POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE, IT WOULD BE FOR CONSIDERATION WHETHER THE STATEMENT WOULD BE MADE IN THE COURSE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE (OR AS AN EXPLANATION OF VOTE), OR BY WAY OF A PUBLIC STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. IF WE WERE TO DO THE LATTER WE SHOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO WARN SWAPO AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS IN ADVANCE. IT MIGHT BE BEST THEREFORE TO MAKE THE STATEMENT IN THE COURSE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE (WHEN PERHAPS IT COULD BE BALANCED BY SOMETHING ABOUT WALVIS BAY).

6. IF YOU AGREE GENERALLY WITH THIS, WE HOPE YOU WILL SEND APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS TO YOUR MISSION IN NEW YORK.

7. IF YOU THOUGHT IT HELPFUL, WE COULD MEET IN LONDON ON SUNDAY EVENING TO DISCUSS THIS AND WALVIS BAY, AS WELL AS OTHER ISSUES OF WORLD CONCERN IN THE LIGHT OF MY (CY VANCE'S) VISIT TO MOSCOW. WE COULD EITHER DO THIS OVER DINNER OR OVER BREAKFAST THE NEXT MORNING (24 APRIL). PLEASE LET US KNOW WHAT YOU THINK. YOURS EVER, CY VANCE, DAVID OWEN. YOUNG

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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